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# THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT AND WOMEN

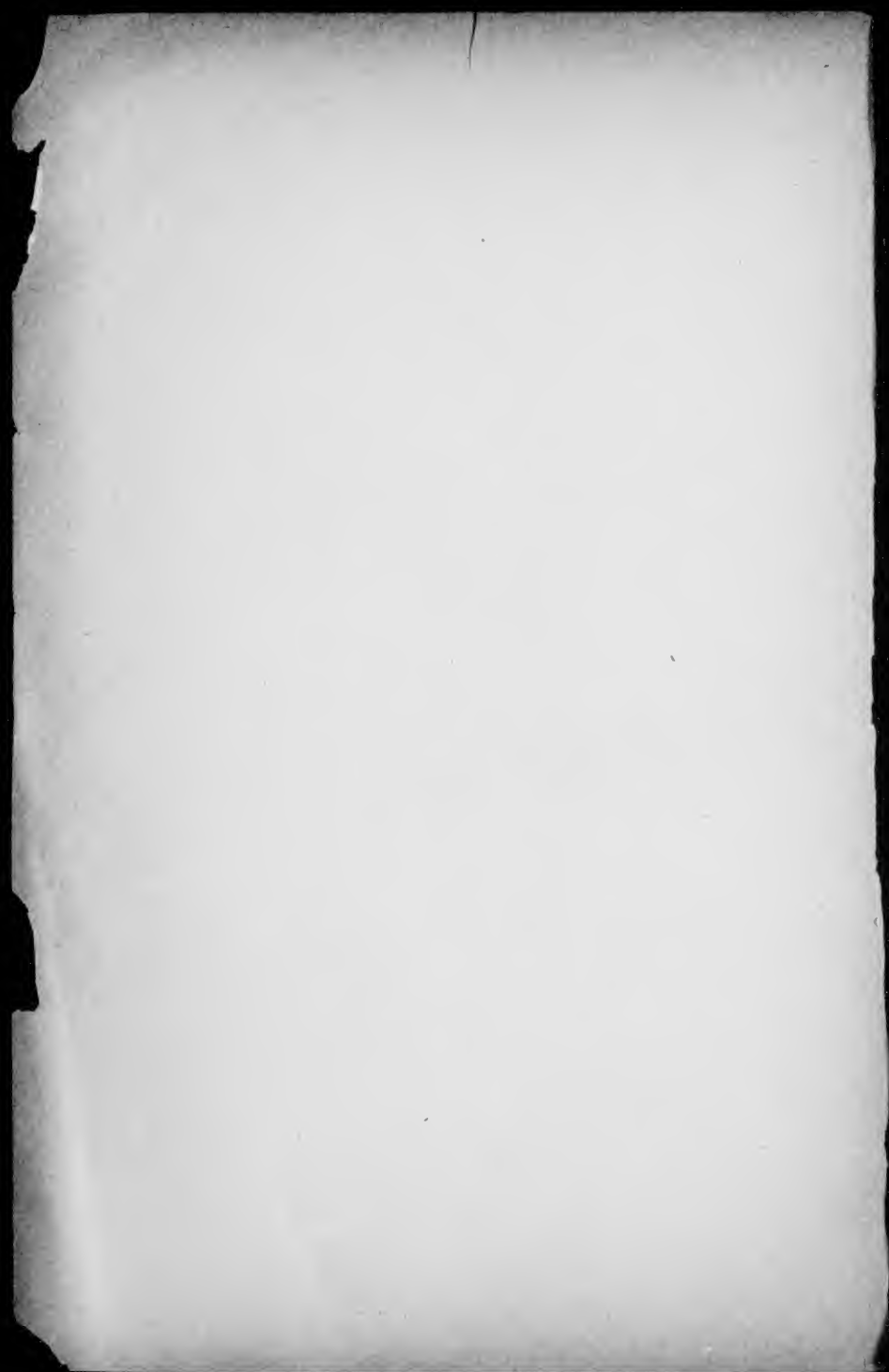
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## THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT AND WOMEN

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A VERY large proportion of the members of Ethical Societies are women. In some they preponderate numerically. Also, they do a large share of the business of organisation and of propaganda. But it is not on this account that a special essay on the relationship of the Ethical Movement to women is needed. It is owing to the well-known problems directly connected with womanhood which are prominent now throughout the civilised world, and which frequently come home in unexpected ways to individuals of both sexes.

No man can be a voter, a husband, or a father without being compelled to face detailed questions as to the treatment of claims advanced by wife or daughters or sister women; or, on the other hand, without considering how he ought to estimate many women's passive acceptance of ancient traditions about the limits of women's duties and rights. Also, no earnest woman can live in the modern world without taking some attitude, either for or against, what has been called the movement for the emancipation of women. It is a subject on which indifference is impossible to a genuine devotee of the right life. But, unfortunately, it is a subject generally treated in scraps. Information is the first requirement; but although much interesting knowledge exists to help our moral judgment, it is either scattered in huge volumes or in petty tracts relating to only one issue. Even inferior comprehensive statements of historic facts and the main problems for to-day are hardly attainable by the busy man and woman.

The present writer dates her membership in an Ethical Society back to 1889,

and traces to this membership a detailed attention to women's problems. Gradually, certain judgments and certain truths have emerged as the fruit of study, and have formed a related whole, which is here broadly sketched, not in order to save others from studying and judging for themselves, but in the belief that some such synopsis will quicken thought and suggest new topics for careful inquiry. The subject is approached from the point of view of rationalised ethics, and brevity forbids details in support of statements, as well as elaboration of *pros* and *cons* in argument.

The first thing to notice is that the existing scientific conception of human life and environment is essentially different from that embodied in the Bible, and from any of the conceptions of natural law which formed the background of such civilisation as there has been up to present times. Some thinkers say that no intimate relation exists between the institutions and ethics of nations and their prevalent conceptions of the universe and its government. A large outlook over history shows, however, that such thinkers are mistaken. Progress and retrogression obscure the relationships; but, in the long run, man's mental life, with all its errors, must make a whole, for it is the nature of consciousness to see and feel relationships. We lose the grand sweep of the mountain range when we are near enough to pry into the growths upon one mountain; and detailed attention to small relationships between a particular religion or world-philosophy, and given national customs or institutions, may obscure the big truth. Yet a panoramic view of history will display great lines of social structure belonging

to creeds in general. Social ethics are not always determined by prevailing notions of world-law; but in the main they vary together, becoming more and more intimately connected just in proportion to the development of human intelligence. Sometimes man's manners and customs shape his world-philosophy; sometimes it is his notion about world-government which decides human government.

I emphasise this because the position assigned to woman under ancient theological systems, and also even under ancient non-theological systems of ethics, such as that of Confucius, is in such marked contrast with the position to be accorded her if the modern evolution theory be true. The contrast of such a legend as that of disobedient mother Eve with ascertained fact is most significant. Milton and the Puritans, like Tertullian, logically deduced from the male Creator theory an ideal for woman, which law still supports, consisting in passive uninquiring obedience to man. It was ambition, curiosity, and disobedience which was Eve's sin. But modern science cries aloud to the mother-sex for full knowledge, a desire to rise, a thoroughly efficient body, and an independent intellect and conscience. Modern conceptions, both of the origin and the aim of woman, are exactly opposite to those which served as root and goal of woman in all ancient societies. Early world-philosophy turned always back to the Father, assuming him as exclusive and supernatural source of ethical law and ethical progress. It positively regarded the male as Creator and Lord not of the family alone, but of all nature. When deified the mother-sex was always subordinated like actual woman. Sometimes she was ignored. Yet science now tends to show that it was the female who at first played the larger and more direct part in beginning the great ethical movement towards humanness; and that no sex belongs to the power, whatever that be, which causes and maintains the ordered movements of animate and inanimate nature.

Biologists have now traced the evolution of all life down to simple cells without sex which multiply by mere division, and then they have followed life up to stages where there are male and female cells, and afterwards still higher to complex beings which tend the young after birth, finally arriving at humanity, where there is the culmination of distinctions between the services needed from the two parents.

Now, many naturalists claim that ethical feelings can be traced among species below mankind, and they offer interesting illustrations. They are probably justified if a sufficiently meagre definition of morality be granted. Morality certainly exhibits itself first in the sense that "we have no life apart from others"; and many mothers and some fathers, as well as gregarious communities belonging to the lower animal world, show this sense. But the very material for complex moral consciousness and vast ethical movement, spreading from person to person, creating religious enthusiasm and social laws and institutions, justified on rational or pseudo-rational grounds, did not exist, and could not exist, until after there had come that marked differentiation of father and mother which is characteristic of mankind.

Conscious morality cannot exist in any being except so far as it can look behind, before, and around; and can remember, compare, and reason about right and wrong so as to choose for itself, and for those it can influence, a given course; and the final touch which distinguishes man as a moral being is the power to gather this feeling and reasoning up into an ideal picture of a whole, which he sets before him and seeks to make living and real. This power—namely, that of idealism—no naturalist has discerned among the lower animals. The development of this faculty is what I call the great ethical movement of mankind out of beasthood.

Ancient religious creeds or theologies resembled modern science in being actual deductions, merely felt or else reasoned, from visible facts and relationships. But they were premature and faulty deductions

from too limited a range of experience. Primitive thinkers found everywhere men dictating to women as fathers, husbands, soldiers, priests, and lawgivers. They knew no details of biology, embryology, nor of the physiological conditions necessary to mental and moral life. The normal lot of woman seemed everywhere to include more pain and disability than that of man. Everything thus pointed to conclusions that male beings, or else a male being, originated and governed a world apparently made chiefly for men. But modern science has thrown a totally different light upon these peculiar disadvantages suffered by women in the battle of life. It is true the human mother has been sacrificed to motherhood by nature to a far greater extent than other mothers. Not only has the direct physiological demand exacted been in a larger ratio to her vitality and her span of existence than is the case lower down; but also the prolongation, after birth, of infancy among human beings has been far more expensive to woman than to man. Science is thus at one with theology in noticing this fact that human mothers seem anything but favourites of natural law, but science interprets this fact quite anew.

Research has shown that the very material for the higher human life was bound up with primitive maternal sacrifice. In fact, the ethical evolution, culminating in worship of the Moral Ideal, started from human motherhood. For the higher life could neither have been conceived nor even partially achieved by human beings without those material instruments of complex feelings and ideas which we sum up as the human nervous system; and the superior complexity, adaptability, and variability of this system which characterises man, could not have developed except through the lengthy and tedious nurture given by mothers after birth, as well as before, to every man and woman child.

Much has yet to be learnt in regard to the detailed relationships between the prolongation of helpless infancy and human capacity for moral and intellectual progress; but the late Professor J. Fiske,

whose theory of this part of evolution was endorsed by Mr. Herbert Spencer and others, pointed out that a time came when the primate from which humanity arose needed some advantage over others whose outward form was similar, and who, perhaps, had even learnt to walk upright. It would no longer pay to improve merely external form. The struggle with nature required superior wit and intellectual flexibility. But the processes of nervous development which were finished before birth could result only in repeating the ancestral and instinctive type. What was needed was that the new little being should be born unfinished, and, therefore, quite feeble and dependent upon the mother; then it would be subjected to a variety of world-experiences before its nervous system, and, indeed, the rest of its physical system also, had been anything like completed. Immense complexity in nerve tracks and their connections could thus be evolved; and in that way the physical conditions of complex psychical life and of strong individuality would be slowly attained.

A recently-born orang outang is remarkably like a baby in structure, and also in its infantile progress; but in ten weeks it can do what a baby can hardly achieve in ten months. Yet it is the baby which can become the idealist. Now, the question comes, "What caused this prolongation of infancy which furnished conditions for man's intellectual superiority over the monkey?" A steadily-increasing development of an altruistic nursing propensity in mothers must have been there; for the tiny baby possessed no means of making it the mother's material interest to carry and nourish it from her body longer than the monkey-mother. The race, rather than the particular mother, prospered by this non-reasoning affection. In woman this fostering propensity lived on when later offspring came. In fact, the distinguishing mark of the human mother is her lengthy personal service and the intelligent discrimination needed in it, owing to the varying ages of her helpless progeny. But this is not all.

The whole system of economic and social obligation which make up our private and public codes of human conduct cluster around this original prolongation of infancy in man, and around the sacrifices primitive mothers made of their forest-freedom, to make it possible. The mother felt she had no life apart from the creature born from her. Existing moral obligations are traceable to this physiological tie, and so is moral freedom, if it be true that man's superior power to look around, to choose the best life-course after comparison, in other words, to be his own law-giver, came through lengthening of infancy, which gave mankind the complex delicate nervous organisation. The moral idealism, that crown which naturalists cannot discover in the wonderful morality of some other animal species, seems to have had the first start from woman.

The part that primitive fathers played is keenly disputed. The Matriarchal School insists that men remained wandering, hunting wood-men long after maternal needs had induced semi-civilised co-operative communities among women, who introduced most of the arts of life before men settled with the other sex. Another view is that fathers from the first shared the burdens caused by the prolonged ministry of human mothers to their offspring, and that they protected, even though they also oppressed, these mothers, much as the higher monogamous apes and certain savages are noticed to do now. But whichever of these views be correct—and the scientific evidence seems at present about equally balanced—it remains true that it was the prolongation of the altruism and maternal ministry required from the woman for racial ends which determined man's ethical development and gradually caused various social systems of obligations and rights. In short, the ethical movement up out of beasthood began with a special sacrifice by the wild woman.

The principle of chivalry—service of the weak by the strong—from which our competitive economics have diverged, was thus the preliminary factor in human

economics, ethics, and politics, and the chivalry of the man ought to follow from the tenacious body-service of the mother. But is it true, as Auguste Comte and many men have asserted, that men still only follow woman's lead in moral development, and that women can only give the lead if they limit themselves, or can be limited by men, to personal ministry towards the family, and to persuasion and indirect influence rather than control over men?

The answer to these questions can only be given after some sort of definition of goodness. And I must again insist upon the change which has come over our conceptions of the universe. Our ideal of human goodness cannot remain the same as when we believed a Supernatural Father played providence over the race, and allotted, with divine fore-knowledge, a station and duties to each and all. Ascertained facts show a universe regardless of either men or women who fail to find out its secrets, and to rule themselves and their surroundings efficiently. This new knowledge affords a new conception of human perfection. It leaves untouched, and indeed strengthens, the large body of every-day deductions as to conduct, for these experience may be said to have verified; but it certainly has abolished the old idea of finality in perfection. It has substituted for a perfectitude, symmetrically completed in those who, by earthly obedience, attained heaven, a developing, self-guiding condition of the individual, unceasing, and adjusted to the welfare and efficient development of the whole race in an ever-changing environment. Human perfection must be providential now. Individual goodness is no longer obedience to ten Commandments or two, but a condition of relatedness which has variations. Power has come to be a large element in the ideal of human perfection. Obedience and altruistic love which are uncritical and powerless have sunk in moral value. Blind personal affection, once relatively useful, may indeed be often a need to-day. Knowledge of Nature's processes has made all the intellectual

virtues, in company with all powers of inventiveness and initiative, rise in the scale of value. Love must turn warrior, even when it is mother-love. What usually are counted as the manly virtues are enhanced.

There certainly is a historic justification for the claim of moral superiority in women; for their practice has been more consistent than men's with the theological ethics which are only now being abandoned; but secluded affections and obedience to men's bad laws certainly will not enable them to be equally consistent with the new standard.

The superior consistency of women with extreme Christian standards has roots in the sex-division of function. The moral "must" weighs heavier upon womankind than upon men, whose main business has undoubtedly during all the ages been material progress. The welfare of the young has obviously necessitated a non-combative, much-enduring morality in women during the ages of survey, clearance, and conflict for possession of territory. Family seclusion, while men achieved the first rough conquest over the forces of nature, within as well as around them, has left women more tactful and more docile to individual ministry, and, as a mass, more ready than men to give themselves with little or no requital. Such propensities are precisely what are now needed in public government. For the human problem is no longer mere accumulation of the goods of life and secure intercommunication; it is healthy, equitable distribution of what co-operation of both sexes and all classes has won.

The controversy as to which sex is morally superior really resolves itself into the fact that nature and human purpose combined have created different lines of least resistance for character in the two sexes. There are aggressive virtues as well as aggressive vices; man's aggressive virtue has shown itself in a thousand risks and achievements; but men tend to extremes in both. Women, on the contrary, tend to extremes in the ascetic virtues and the ascetic vices. If public

arrangements be not now adjusted so as to modify these respective tendencies, it is hard to say which will do most harm. Political economists everywhere point out failures of competition to adjust itself to public welfare. The worst harm is caused by an ascetic standard among women, who are positively compelled, by accumulation of capital in the hands of a few aggressive men, to enter the market and lower wages. Yet the preaching of individual rights to women without also their assumption of public responsibilities can only teach them to adopt aggressive vices without the virtues. It can only teach wives either to refuse maternity to secure as high a standard of material comfort as their unmarried earning sisters, or as they had prior to marriage; or else to so increase their demands upon husbands that they should be corrupted into unscrupulous money-making machines, trampling other men in the dust worse than now.

It is an old proverb that superstition dies hard; but one reason it is so hard to kill is that few notice where it lurks. Rationalists, who repudiate all dependence upon Supernatural Providence, yet cling to the idea that there is something beneficially fore-ordained in the present relations of woman to man. Even in scientific works upon marriage notes of admiration appear concerning the mutual psychological action and reaction, based upon the disparity of power between man and woman. But in truth Providence has had only the same influence here as over the disparities between the men. Both sets of disparities are equally malevolent in many cases.

Woman's uncorrected influence upon man and man's uncorrected influence upon woman are just as liable to make for the death of nations and of the race as any other nature-phenomena. I have given for what it is worth the theory of the original part played in human evolution by maternal devotion and sacrifice; but no isolated phenomenon of evolution ever serves for deduction of rules for conduct. Decadence and death are essentials in nature's processes as well as progress and life. Darwin believed a very cruel struggle

for existence preceded and accompanied the evolution of our species. But moral idealism revolts against this struggle. Morality has to stamp out and mitigate whatever it can of nature's cruelties, including such as fall on women. The family as an institution is one of the most marked illustrations that mutual aid is not less but more conducive than elimination of the weak by struggle to high forms of life. But the uncalculating absorption of women in this small group ought to be modified now that a complex social fabric has been reared by aid of the intelligence which mother-love made possible. If woman cannot rise to meet the new circumstances; if she cannot say to her sons, "You shall cease to scramble blindly for silks and gems to be lavished on one set of women, while you trample another in mire where there is not even food and leisure to nourish their babies, and where many even of the wives take to prostitution," then there is death ahead. Women must enforce the law of chivalry in economics and politics.

There is ample evidence hidden in human history that men do revert to a merely animal barbarism, or entirely die out when progress is not equalised and shared around.

Nation after nation, civilisation after civilisation, has died, as we now know, before the arrival of this that we live in. They have existed in a variety of climates, a variety of geographical conditions, and comprised races supposed to have had a variety of gifts; but one feature has been as constant as their decay, and that is the domination of woman by man—the woman's absorption in mere physical motherhood with the edifice of aristocratic institutions consequent upon that inferiority to men which has been artificially fostered. Nature tried many experiments in cellular and organic life before the human organism was evolved; and she has tried many experiments in social organisms which have proved unprosperous owing to defects.

The cruel sacrifice of multitudes of men, either in war, in slavery, or in wage-labour,

to promote the fortunes of a few families is not the cause, as some socialists have affirmed, of the artificial burdens and sacrifices imposed upon women. It is largely the consequence of these. If poverty and mischievous class distinctions are to be abolished, democratic reform of the family life is the most essential of all the steps. Equality of opportunity must start within the home. Fair remuneration for social and personal service must start there. Fair opportunity to develop various natural gifts in service of the common weal must start there. For it is only after the home-maker *par excellence*, who necessarily is the woman, has become a responsible citizen herself, that she can bear and rear good, efficient, self-respecting citizens, or even insist upon living herself in a decent roomy house with fresh air.

Multitudes of women are forced to desert all home-making offices because nowhere save in factories or workshops can they secure personal liberty with pay for labour. Some say girls should go into service. Few know that this trade, with its servile associations, and its separation from equals and family, teaches more women than any other to sell their womanhood. Many blame the wife who insists upon securing her pay for herself outside home; but others point to husbands who, every winter, resort to suicide or crime because they have nothing to give wife and children.

The husband, driven by need to support the home-worker, has to become proportionately pliable in the employer's hands; and the fiction that the modern family is an economic unit compels him to meet his responsibilities by hours of toil, in some instances almost unlimited, and pay which leaves no margin whatever for old age or for any of life's accidents. Let wage-working men learn that their economic wrongs are bound up with the inferiority of the wife and domestic worker in the eyes of the nation. Husbands are assumed to represent wives in the market as well as in politics; but the one is as much a fiction as the other. The efficiency of the bricklayer is not that of the woman

who cooks, washes, mends, markets, and perhaps bears and rears a family; and he never receives her share of the national wealth to hand to her. He receives no more than the bachelor. He receives no more than the market-worth of his own particular skill and labour, not the worth of his wife's.

Not even the most advanced writer upon economics seems aware of the clear fact that England's economic constitution is reared upon unpaid labours of powerless home-keeping women in precisely the same way as the economic constitution of ancient Greece or Rome was reared upon slave-labour. But it is largely for this reason that the granting of political equality to women is more fundamental as a reform than any of the highly important questions relating to labouring men as a class. Sex disparity is the key to class disparity.

Of all sociological problems, one of the most difficult is the question whether disparities between human beings increase or decrease. The difficulty is caused by confusions between apparent and actual disparities. If the entire race be reckoned, no doubt disparities increase; but if we compare disparities among men, or even disparities between the sexes, in England in the present period and the feudal age, and take into account that roads were frequently impassable to all, so that monarchs, like ploughmen, had none of the existing facilities of travel; if we remember that no one had more than a very limited bill of fare, no gas illumination, no security against robbery, no music-halls or theatres, no newspapers; if we remember that it was not only poor folk, but even wealthy and noble ones, who were sometimes tortured in secret prisons; if we look at ancient letters, and note the lack of even any uniform spelling among those who were educated, and the strange superstitions about health among the greatest in the land, in place of that science which is now at command even of the sick pauper, it is very hard to say whether people are now more or less on a level. In one respect, however, we may

be sure the equality is greater, and that is in the individual's right to rise. It is this right which has so quickened the pace of man's mastery over nature. It is this right which is the essence of what is called democracy. Inequality of other sorts may even increase, but the thing to emphasise is that the principle governing inequalities is changing.

The age of fixed status has gone from the whole of the male sex; for, even in politics, not one man is now forbidden to attain the necessary qualifications. Neither is any man forbidden to qualify for any of the professions or occupations which bring honour and wealth. Nor are any divested of the chance to rise by personal labour into the peerage. Law allows, although circumstance may deny. It is only in regard to women that a barrier of status, prohibiting utterly in certain directions any right to rise, still exists.

But there is something yet more unjust and foolish in their position. Circumstance has been made a double tyrant to them. They have been deprived of their ancient status-rights, without receiving any equivalent ones under the economic order, which is the outgrowth of giving to all men the right to rise.

Analysis of how this happened is highly interesting, but impossible in this essay. All I can do is to point to the main factor, which is that when status regulated men's inequalities, as it did women's, the family, which then included slaves and serfs, really was broadly and roughly an economic unit; for it not only consumed as a unit, it also produced as one and often carried on its own commerce; either law or custom, which possessed the authority of law, allotting to all members of the family, and largely even to slaves, their separate proportion of possessions.

In Rome, under this *régime*, the sex-disparity was that, while the man had limited powers of rising through his family, not even death and inheritance permitted the woman, however capable, to become the legal and the religious head of the family and its representative in the nation. But, at the same time, this head of the



family himself was not empowered to leave wife and daughters devoid of property either in life or at his death. The Common Law of England gave them similar rights, alluded to in Magna Charta itself.

The heavy and responsible part women took both in the labour and the management of industries in all countries under the domestic system has been too often described to need comment; but it is not often noted that, where so much actually passed through their hands, it would have been difficult for any law to dispossess them of pure necessities, as even middle-class home-working women are sometimes dispossessed to-day.

In the eyes of the men who gradually changed this industrial system, their own right to rise in the competition with other men necessitated unrestricted ownership for men of all that they could profit by, including the wife's labour. It was during the slow rise of capitalist and machine industry and the break-up of family industries that the status disability of coverture was actually extended over women. Previously there had always been wives in England free to trade and own as *femes soles*. On the other hand, this same revolution saw abolished all the rights of status, such as dower, in favour of man's absolute power to dispose of land and money. The status of a wife came to mean a bare right to necessities from her husband, which she could only enforce if some tradesman would give her credit, or through the Poor Law. As to the widow, the husband attained, and still possesses, absolute right to leave her penniless after a life of home labour, either by choice or by his extravagance or folly, unless she acquires property apart from their partnership.

The long decline in men's sense of fair play to women, which is a very marked feature of the change, to the age of contract, from what has been called the period of status, is at first sight a terrible indictment of democratic progress; but there are excuses. The chief excuse for the cruel position of the wife by the time the nineteenth century was reached is one

which seems completely overlooked by every writer upon the woman question. It lies in the paradox that, although the family gradually ceased to be, even remotely, a unit for production, after the factory system spread, it not only remained a consuming unit, but, to a certain extent, in spite of the marked tendency to substitute the individual as the economic unit, always must remain the unit for consumption. The reason is that motherhood always must handicap the wife as market-earner; for her infants, at least, must always consume directly at the mother's expense. Many other responsibilities besides productive labour have now migrated from the home, and still further deposed the family in favour of the individual. The individual parent is no longer responsible for his child's education; and the teacher, often a house-slave in ancient times, is now aloof from the family as paid servant of the State. The tendency to accept the individual as economic unit is specially illustrated in the recent relief of parents from responsibility for the child's industrial future by State provision of technical education. The demand, voiced even by Conservatives like Sir John Gorst, for free meals at schools is in the same direction.

The melancholy point is, however, that the wife's claim as an individual remains totally unnoticed. Married Women's Property Acts are almost the only attempts to compensate her for losing her ancient economic position; and there is a constant outcry against wives who, by competing in factories and elsewhere, want to reap the modicum of independence these Acts secure.

The wife, even now, cannot enforce through the law courts her supposed right to food and necessities from her husband unless she first leaves him, which, of course, often entails leaving her children as well. She is supposed to have been vastly relieved by the Summary Jurisdiction Act; and her person is assumed to be protected from brutality by the permission to prosecute a husband for assault. Mingled wonder, contempt, and

admiration are showered upon poor victims who decline this remedy, or, when driven to it, end in begging the man off. Not a soul seems to remember that it is the wife herself, and often her children also, who suffer the most whenever a fine is inflicted, or the husband's employment is lost through sentence of imprisonment. Not a soul seems to notice that poor folk never can obtain divorce, as the cost is absolutely prohibitive; nor yet that the separated wife loses any alimony granted her if, tempted by forlorn inability to re-marry, she commits adultery; while her husband, who suffers no financial disability whatever for such causes, may even have offended in this way many times before his brutality drove her to the courts for a separation.

The fact is, no other class in the land is so devoid of every sort of security for life, limb, happiness, and efficiency as the wives of wage-workers; and that is the main cause of the physical and moral deterioration of large sections of the people.

Now, there is no remedy for the paradoxical position of the wife and the wrongs of other unpaid servants of the family save through politics; for mere market earning, however well paid, never can remunerate or give individual independence to women, much of whose life is, for racial ends, to be spent out of the market.

The common idea is that woman's demand for control over Parliament and entrance into all professions is only to give equal business and public opportunities to middle-class women, absolutely debarred from matrimony by the large numerical superiority of women in that special class; for this sex-majority does not extend lower down. As this educated surplus, necessarily excluded from the occupations and privileges connected with matrimony, is well on to a million, their grievances are highly important. All political honours and ambitions, together with many lucrative and honourable occupations, are shut from them, and the much-lauded indirect share of influence and

honour obtainable by some women through partnership with lucky or clever men is impossible. At every turn purely arbitrary disabilities meet their efforts to make a place in the world by their unaided efforts. If no wrongs were suffered in the existing family, their case alone is a sufficient ground for granting educational, political, and market equality to women. But the real truth is that the artificial inefficiency, disability, and suffering inflicted upon the vast masses who do marry is even of greater importance, because it reacts with immense damage on the children, and also on men.

The care of infants, the maternal supervision over children of school age, the maintenance of the home as a refuge for men and women who work in the market and as a source of pure enjoyment, are not less vital: they are more vital to progress now than even when maternal prolongation of infancy first lifted mankind from the life of wild animals. Few European reformers, women or men, would share the desire of a brilliant American lady writer to extend the factory method to every detail of the home, including the care of infants. The ancient source of human superiority is that the discriminative personal services and impersonal marketable ones have both been utilised, both been honoured. But there is great danger, now that mechanical invention has qualified mere mechanical workers, as well as meretricious caterers of every sort, to get their individual pay and political power, provided they are men, and has left unrequited and unhonoured the far more intellectual, discriminating, and valuable personal ministries of home-makers and mothers, that many women will feel there is degradation in a personal ministry to husband and children, which excludes from all financial independence as well as from rights to control the laws and take a part in public service.

If the affections born of personal mutual ministry in the home, if its privacy, its moral discipline, its chances for individuality in taste, are essential to the rich life

of human beings, the women who make it must receive recognition of their status from the nation. They themselves, as joint legislators and administrators with men, must be permitted to control that environment into which they are asked to bring fresh human beings.

The supernatural Father and Son

hitherto worshipped must give place to the moral ideal of partnership between natural men and women equally liable to err, but both bent upon a new distribution of life's disparities and burdens, based, like the primitive economy of motherhood, upon the power to serve instead of upon the power to fight.

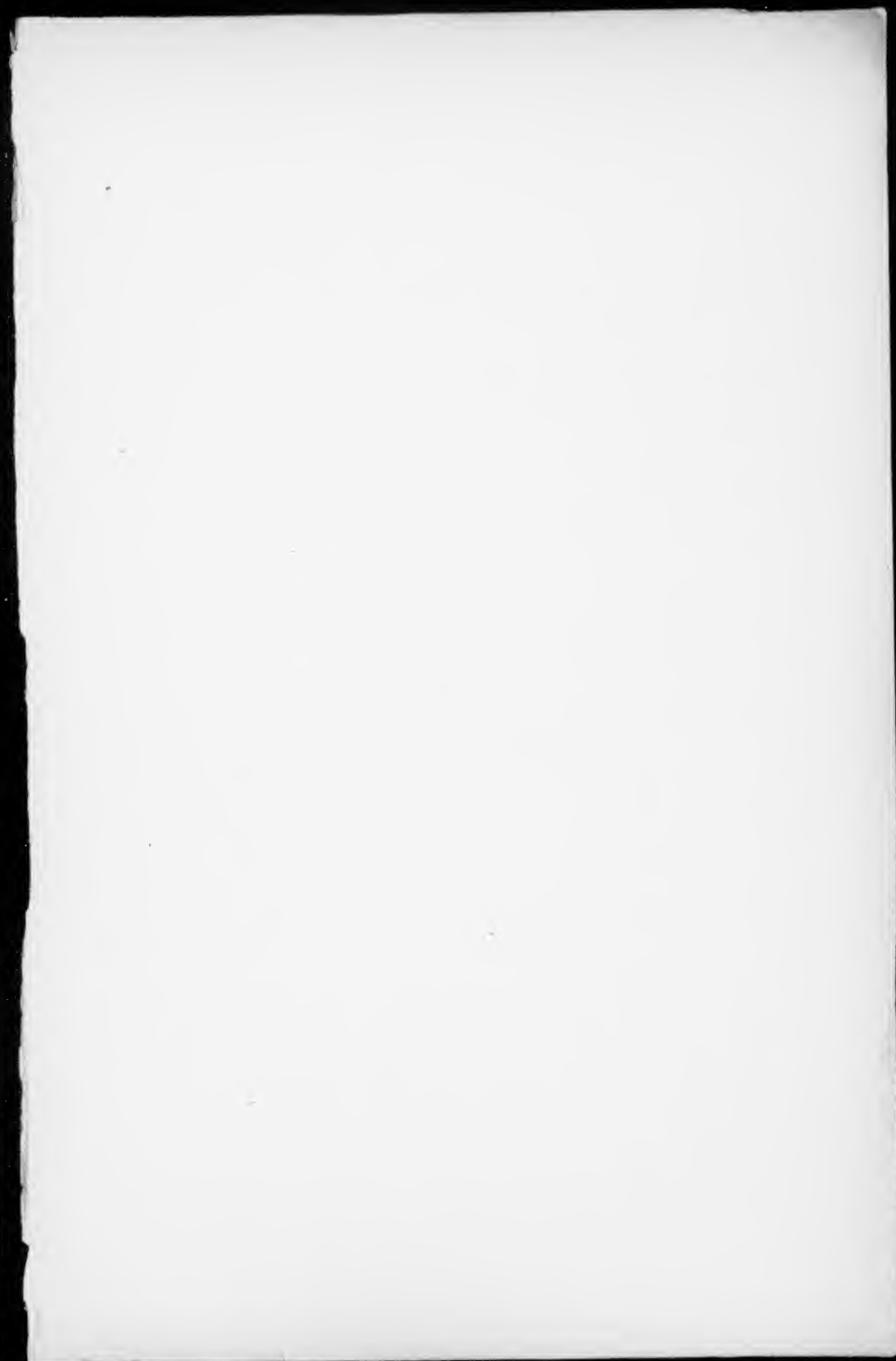
## List of Recommended Literature.

The following may be obtained from the Literature Agent, Miss L. M. BOILEAU, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. :—

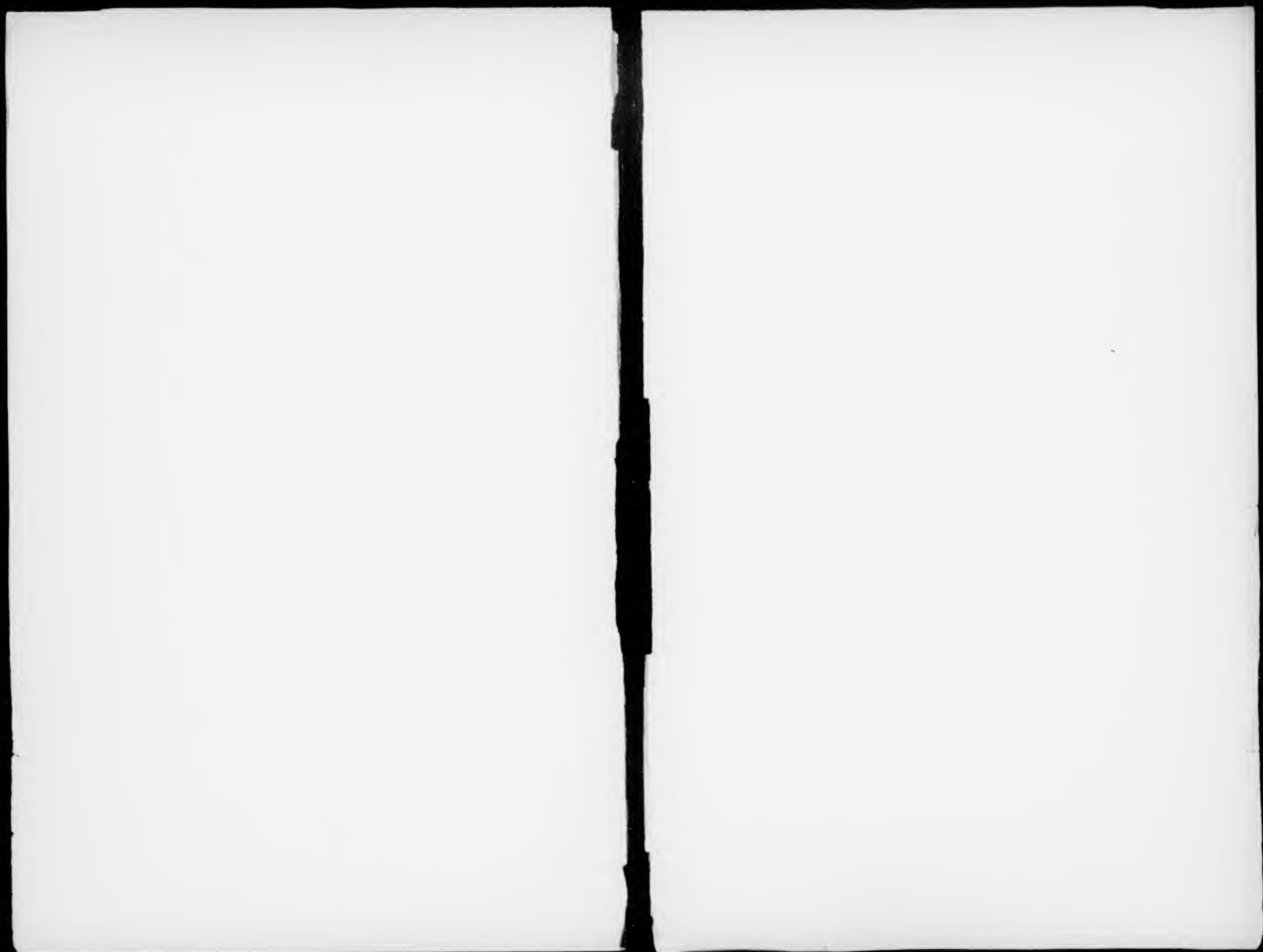
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